*IBRĪZ*IANA: THEMES AND SOURCES OF A SEMINAL SUFI WORK

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Some key concepts

In the English-language academic world, it has by now become something of a received idea to refer to certain key figures in the latter centuries of the history of Sufism as 'Neo-Sufis'. The most important personalities of this so-called Neo-Sufism are the Algerian Aḥmad al-Tijānī (1737-1815), the founder of the Tijāniyya order, and the Moroccan Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1749/50-1837). Aḥmad al-Tijānī's most important follower in the nineteenth century was *al-ḥājj* ^{c}Umar, who succeeded in setting up a Tijānī state in West Africa. Amongst the most influential disciples of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, one may first mention Muḥammad b. ^{c}Alī al-Sanūsī (1787-1859), next Muḥammad ^{c}Uthmān al-Mīrghanī (1793-1852), and then Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd (1813-74). The Sufi orders founded by these three figures exercised considerable political and social influence in different parts of the Islamic world throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

And yet, to date very little investigation of their actual teachings has been carried out. When one reads their writings, it is striking that much of what they teach goes back to the Moroccan ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Azīz b. Mas^{c}ūd al-Dabbāgh who lived in Fez 1090-1132/1679–1719-8. The life and teachings of al-Dabbāgh have been transmitted in a book by his

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disciple Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī entitled *al-Ibrīz min kalām sayyidī al-ghawth ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz*. Al-Lamaṭī was a religious scholar who lived in Fez and died 1155/1742. He has a reference in Brockelmann.[1] As is clear from the title, the book is not about the teachings and views of al-Lamaṭī himself but about those of his mystic teacher, al-Dabbāgh.[2] Al-Lamaṭī began composing this work in 1129/1717 and went on writing it after his master's death.[3]

It is scarcely possible to establish the actual number of extant manuscripts of the *Ibrīz*. Several printed editions exist, the earliest was published in Cairo in 1278/1861. But the two-volume edition by Muḥammad ᶜAdnān al-Shammāᶜ, published in Damascus in 1984-86, represents a significant advance over all its predecessors. It offers a good text accompanied by learned notes. Whereas the *Ibrīz* may be considered a kind of bible of the so-called Neo-Sufis, to date no monograph on al-Dabbāgh or his work has appeared.

A central theme dealt with in the *Ibrīz* is the *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya*,[4] the Muḥammadan path, and the position of

1 *GAL,* II, 462f., *S* II, 704; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfas*, Rabat 1922, 309f.

2 See also Bernd Radtke, 'Zwischen Traditionalismus und Intellektualismus. Geistesgeschichtliche und historiografische Bemerkungen zum Ibrīz des Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī' in Elie Wardini (ed.), *Built on Solid Rock, Studies in Honour of Professor Ebbe Egede Knudsen on the occasion of his 65th Birthday April 11 1997*, Oslo 1997, 240-2.

3 Radtke, 'Zwischen Traditionalismus und Intellektualismus', 264-5.

4 A monograph would here be very welcome, for now see R.S. O'Fahey and Bernd Radtke, 'Neo-Sufism Reconsidered', *Der Islam,* lxx, 1993, 64-71; Fritz Meier, 'Eine auferstehung Mohammeds bei Suyūṭī', *Der Islam*, lxii, 1985, 43; and my 'Between Projection and Suppression. Some Considerations concerning the Study of Sufism' in Frederick de Jong (ed.), *Shīᶜa Islam, Sects and Sufism,* Utrecht 1992, 74; 'Erleuchtung und Aufklärung. Islamische Mystik und europäischer Rationalismus', *Die Welt des Islams,* xxxiv, 1994, 59; 'Ijtihād and Neo-Sufism', *Asiatische Studien*, xlviii, 1994, 914ff.; 'Sufism in the 18th Century. An Attempt at a Provisional Appraisal', *Die Welt des Islams*, xxxvi, 1996 and 'Möglichkeiten der Kritik am Neo-Sufismus' (forthc.).

the Prophet Muḥammad in the cosmos. Until now the concept of the *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya* in scholarly writings has been anything but clear. Indeed it has been presented in a variety of unsatisfactory ways, often based on gross misunderstandings. Hopefully the present article will contribute to clarifying the meaning of the concept on the basis of examining an seminal work. But before turning to al-Lamaṭī, al-Dabbāgh and the *Ibrīz*, I would like to make a few preliminary general remarks about the concept of the *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya*.

Islam is a religion of law. This may seem an almost trivial observation but it is worth pausing to consider the implications of this truism. The Islamic profession of faith illustrates this point perfectly: *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*—there is no god but God—*Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*—Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. Here we have two basic propositions. The first pertains to the concept of God: there is only one God, and this one God according to the understanding of Islamic theology is all-pervading and omnipotent. He determines everything that exists in nature and in man as well. The whole of creation, fashioned in accordance with the all-wise, divine regulations, exists for man; it has been created by God for man's sake. And the existence of the world makes it possible for man to fulfil his primary duty, namely to be an obedient servant of God. Man's obedience is to be achieved by following the divine law.

And here we come to the second proposition of the Islamic profession of faith. Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. God communicates His law to mankind through chosen persons known as prophets or messengers, the last of them being the Arab Muḥammad who lived in the seventh century. With the coming of Muḥammad the revealed law is complete. Everything that God wished to let mankind know has been transmitted by Muḥammad.

And this law is made known in two ways: firstly,

through the divine revelation of the Koran which is the eternal, immutable word of God transmitted to mankind by Muḥammad. The second way of knowing the law is through what is designated by the Arabic word *sunna*. *Sunna* originally means a path, then custom and usage. *Sunna* therefore means the *sunna* of Muḥammad, the path, the custom, the pious usage of Muḥammad. Everything that has been handed down from the Prophet, his deeds, his behaviour, his words, is all just as binding for a Muslim as the precepts and statements in the Koran.

Thus, the above mentioned Aḥmad b. Idrīs can say: 'God has ordered us to do nothing but follow revelation. He has declared: "Follow what has been sent down to you from your Lord and do not follow any other friend than Him—but how little you think of this!" [K 7:3]. The revelation that has been sent down to us is the sublime Book, as well as the deeds and the words of the Messenger. Both are revelation'.[5] The crucial point to note is that according to Aḥmad b. Idrīs, not only the Koran is divine revelation (*waḥy*), but also the *sunna*, the customs and practices of the Prophet.

There is of course the problem of the trustworthiness of transmitted tradition. That is to say, God has revealed Himself to mankind through the Koran and the Prophet. Revelation occurred at a given moment; it no longer takes place. Present-day man has knowledge of it through written records, that is through texts. The Koran is a book. What we know of the *sunna* of the Prophet Muḥammad is also transmitted to us in books.

I will not enter into the question of the trustworthiness of the Koran's transmission. The problem is the transmission of the *sunna* of the Prophet. Here we enter the domain of what is known as *ḥadīth*-criticism. That it is possible to have doubts concerning the content of each *matn* text, and about the authenticity of the links of any given *isnād* (chain of

5 Aḥmad b. Idrīs, *Risālat al-radd,* Ms Bergen 438 (*ALA*, I, 133, no. 33), 2.

transmitters) is well attested amongst Islamic theologians, as well as amongst Western scholars. Whereas Western research has primarily focused attention on the content of the *matn*, traditional Islamic criticism has paid greater attention to the personal credibility of individuals making up the chain of transmission. Those *ḥadīth*s that traditional Islamic criticism held to be trustworthy, authentic reports on the life, words and comportment of the Prophet, were written down in the ninth and tenth centuries in several large collections which came to have canonical status.

By giving the *sunna* a written normative form in this way, a framework was provided for man, or more precisely for a Muslim, to follow if he wished to conform fully to the divine law. Consequently, certainty that one is doing what is right comes from two sources. On the one hand from resorting to written tradition, and on the other hand from one's correct understanding of this tradition. But here we have a situation which introduces a further element of insecurity. Indeed, understanding and interpreting texts is an activity associated with human reason, and reason is a notoriously fallible mental faculty. Amongst Islamic jurists and theologians a debate developed that dealt with the question of how much weight should be given to human reason in interpreting revelation, that is in interpreting the Koran and the *sunna*.

We have already emphasized the point that the *sunna* of the Prophet has the status of divine revelation. Here we must add that the Prophet himself, both his person and his physical being, was gradually transferred to the divine sphere. This historical process has been described in detail by Tor Andrä in his book *Die person Muhammeds in lehre und glauben seiner gemeinde* which remains the fundamental work on the subject.[6] He shows how the Prophet goes from being a model of moral behaviour to being a divine-like object of cult veneration.

6 Stockholm 1918 (Ph.D. Thesis, Upsala 1917).

The reports concerning the model character of the behaviour and sayings of the Prophet were already collected in the ninth century by, amongst others, the traditionist Abū ᶜĪsā al-Tirmidhī in his book *al-Shamāᵓil al-Muḥammadiyya*.[7] In this book one finds chapters on the Prophet's way of dressing, his manner of speech, his laughter and joking, and on his way of performing worship. More detailed and comprehensive than the work of Abū ᶜĪsā al-Tirmidhī is the book by al-Qāḍī ᶜIyāḍ (d. 544/1149) entitled *al-Shifāᵓ bi-taᶜrīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā.*[8] Following the Prophet in word and deed can be designated as *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya*. The concept appears for the first time as the title of a book by the Ottoman theologian Birkawī (Birgilī) in the sixteenth century. His book, *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya wa'l-sīra al-Aḥmadiyya*,[9] is a compendium of ethical rules for life according to the prescriptions of the Prophet as transmitted in the *sunna*.

The exemplary human being Muḥammad is steadily transformed until he becomes a cosmic category of divine origin known as the *ḥaqīqa Muḥammadiyya*, which is in fact an actual demiurge that brought about the creation of the cosmos. This doctrine was fully elaborated by the great theosophist and mystic Ibn ᶜArabī (d. 638/1240).

At this point let us return to the *Ibrīz* and the person of al-Dabbāgh. Al-Dabbāgh was of *sharīfī* origin but was an unschooled *ummī*, this al-Lamaṭī emphazises numerous times.[10] However he also says al-Dabbāgh was able to read and write.[11] If al-Lamaṭī is not contradicting himself, then *ummī* in this case does not mean illiterate, but means without higher theological training.

7 *GAS,* I, 156.

8 *GAL*, I, 369, *S* I, 630.

9 *GAL*, II, 440, *S* II, 654.

10 Al-Lamaṭī, *K. al-Ibrīz,* ed. Muḥammad ᶜAdnān al-Shammāᶜ, 2 vols, Damascus 1404-06/1984-86, I, 33, 69, 231, 316, 317, 334, 363, 378; II, 27.

11 *Ibrīz,* I, 371, 372, 373, 374, 417.

That al-Dabbāgh had founded an order, the Khaḍiriyya *ṭarīqa*, is a later fabrication or a misunderstanding of the word *ṭarīqa* which in this case ought rather to be translated as 'a spiritual tradition'. Of course, it is true that al-Dabbāgh claims to have received his main litany from al-Khaḍir himself,[12] and Aḥmad b. Idrīs also mentions being affiliated to the Khaḍiriyya which, he says, links him to al-Dabbāgh spiritually.[13]

At this point I would like to consider a few of the basic ideas and concepts found in the *Ibrīz*. Obviously, I can only deal briefly with a limited selection. The concepts I will describe are: *dhāt* and *rūḥ*, *fatḥ* and Muḥammadology and *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya* respectively.

Let me begin with *dhāt* and *ruḥ*. *Dhāt* is a human being as he can be perceived by the senses, man as a unit compounded of body, soul and spirit.[14] Very often, however, *dhāt* signifies man simply as a physical body, in this case usually referred to as *dhāt turābiyya*.[15] In the *Ibrīz* there are no cases of *dhāt* signifying higher spiritual essence, that is to say the spiritual or divine kernel of one's being. Fritz Meier has already drawn attention to this distinction in his article 'Eine auferstehung Mohammeds bei Suyūṭī'.[16] The *dhāt* is formed by the blood which flows through 366 veins. In the veins man's lower sensual characteristics live out their life, their source being the *nafs*, the concupiscent soul. But the *nafs* does not have as prominent a role in the *Ibrīz* as it does with so many other mystics, the same being true of the *hawā*, the passionate drive. The illuminated mystic is able to perceive the sea of inner drives

12 *Ibrīz,* I, 52.

13 Einar Thomassen and Bernd Radtke (eds.), *The Letters of Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs*, London 1993, 64f. and Bernd Radtke, R.S. O'Fahey and John O'Kane, 'Two Sufi Treatises of Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs', *Oriens,* xxxv, 1995, 151f.

14 Among the hundreds of references, see e.g. *Ibrīz,* I, 74.

15 E.g. *Ibrīz,* I, 402.

16 Meier, 'Eine auferstehung Mohammeds', 46 n. 81.

and passions as a blazing fire.[17]

From a cosmological point of view, the *dhāt* belongs to the dark part of the world, the *ẓalām.*[18] In a normal person it is separated by a *ḥijāb*, a partition, from the higher part of his being, the *rūḥ*.[19] In the cosmological scheme the *rūḥ* belongs to the world of light, *nūr*—or to be more precise, it originates in the world of the angels, *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā*.[20] That is why, like the angels, it has the capacity to see God directly (*mushāhada*),[21] and possesses the higher human capacities of knowledge and reason, *ʿilm* and *ʿaql*.[22] After death the *rūḥ* leaves the *dhāt* and then lives in the *barzakh*, a kind of limbo,[23] which al-Lamaṭī describes in a special chapter on the subject[24] that I will not go into here. From the *barzakh* the elite Friends of God come forth, together with the prophets, to attend the *dīwān al-ṣāliḥīn* in the cave of Mount Ḥirāʾ,[25] which al-Lamaṭī describes in detail in Chapter Four.

The prophet Muḥammad is also made up of *dhāt* and *rūḥ*[26]—to turn now to the second complex of basic ideas, al-Dabbāgh's Muḥammadology. But in the case of the Prophet, they are of a special kind and have a different relationship to one another than in a normal human being. The *dhāt* of the Prophet is *ṭāhira*, *sharīfa*, *kāmila*.[27] While still in the world, it is endowed with the physical qualities that the inhabitants of Paradise will enjoy, that is to say it is an imperishable body made up of light,[28] though it too originated from dust.[29]

17 *Ibrīz,* II, 54f.
18 *Ibrīz,* I, 266ff. and all of Chapter Three, also pp. 441-89.
19 *Ibrīz,* II, 266; I, 218.
20 *Ibrīz,* II, 69.
21 *Ibrīz,* II, 112, 288, 326.
22 *Ibrīz,* I, 158.
23 *Ibrīz,* II, 318.
24 Chapter Ten, *Ibrīz,* II, 305-20.
25 *Ibrīz,* II, 17.
26 *Ibrīz,* I, 115.
27 *Ibrīz,* I, 280 and *passim*.
28 *Ibrīz,* I, 169, 214.
29 *Ibrīz,* I, 402.

The Prophet has no partition between his *dhāt* and *rūḥ*; they are joined together.[30] The *rūḥ* lives within the Prophet's *dhāt* the way love lives within a human being's soul, that is, it permeates the *dhāt* completely.[31] Consequently, the Prophet's *dhāt* is endowed with a special power; it draws upward to God and not, as is usual, downward to the earth and darkness.[32]

Due to the special power of light that is active in the Prophet's *dhāt*, he is the intermediary between creation and God. On the one hand, the divine lights pour down on the Prophet's *dhāt* uninterruptedly, while on the other hand his *dhāt* transmits them to God's creatures, for example in the form of the Koran.[33]

But the Prophet is not only an intermediary. He is the very starting-point for the whole of earthly creation. His light was the first thing to be created. I cannot here go into the historical background to this idea. It was from the Prophet's light that the whole of creation developed.[34] For this reason the created universe is permeated by a network of luminous threads, whose interactions and effects can be perceived by mystics who have attained illumination.[35]

Likewise, even after his death it is possible to perceive the Prophet as he is in flesh and blood, in other words to perceive his *dhāt*. However, al-Lamaṭī or al-Dabbāgh do not say anything about a resurrection of the Prophet, as one finds in al-Suyūṭī's *Tanwīr al-ḥalak fī imkān ruʾyat al-nabī wa'l-*

30 *Ibrīz,* I, 152, 154.

31 *Ibrīz,* I, 151, 152.

32 *Ibrīz,* I, 400.

33 *Ibrīz,* I, 130.

34 *Ibrīz,* II, 189; also quoted in *al-ḥājj* ᶜUmar b. Saᶜīd al-Fūtī, *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm ᶜalā nuḥūr ḥizb al-rajīm*, in *Jawāhir al-maᶜānī,* Cairo 1393/1973, II, 121; see also Radtke, 'Lehrer-Schüler-Enkel. Aḥmad b. Idrīs, Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, Ismāᶜīl al-Walī', *Oriens,* xxxiii, 1992, 121f. and 'Ismāᶜīl al-Walī. Ein sudanesischer Theosoph des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Der Islam,* lxxii, 1995, 150.

35 *Ibrīz,* I, 361.

malak,[36] which Fritz Meier has analyzed in the article referred to above. Perceiving the Prophet after his death is possible as an image in a dream—*manām*[an]—or in a waking state—*yaqẓa*[tan], and in the latter case, that is while awake, in two ways. One can see an image of the Prophet, an apparitional form, a *ṣūra*, or one can see the *dhāt* of the Prophet himself. But only the illuminated mystic is capable of seeing the Prophet's *dhāt*.

Seeing the Prophet in a waking state—*ruʾyat/mushāhadat al-nabī yaqẓa*[tan]— which is a major characteristic of later Sufism in general—is possible because the Prophet's *dhāt* is endowed with a light that fills the entire world. Here is the key passage in the *Ibrīz* dealing with this subject, which Fritz Meier has already drawn attention to in his above mentioned article[37] and which is also taken up in *al-ḥājj* ᶜUmar's later work the *Rimāḥ*:[38]

Whoever sees the Lord of being in a dream can do so in two ways. In the first way the dream is in no need of interpretation because the person sees the Prophet in the same state he appeared in the world and as the Prophet's Companions beheld him. Should this vision occur to someone who is illuminated … then what he sees is the pure and noble *dhāt* of the Prophet. If the person is not illuminated, he can experience this as well but that is a rare situation. Usually what is seen is the image of his *dhāt* (*ṣūrat dhātihi*), not his *dhāt* itself (*ᶜayn dhātihi*), since the *dhāt* of the Prophet can take on various forms and then be seen in numerous places, whether in a dream or in a waking state. This is because the *dhāt* of the Prophet possesses light which emanates from it and fills the entire world. There is no place where the noble light of the Prophet does not exist. The *dhāt* of the Prophet appears in this light the way the form of the face appears in a mirror. Thus, the light of the Prophet is similar to a mirror which fills the entire world, and what is

36 On this see Meier, 'Eine auferstehung Mohammeds', 43/*Bausteine. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Islamwissenschaft*, Istanbul-Stuttgart 1992, II, 820.

37 Meier, 'Eine auferstehung Mohammeds', 46/*Bausteine,* II, 823.

38 *Rimāḥ,* I, 223.

represented in it is the *dhāt*. That is why one person can see the Prophet in the east and another person see him in the west, one sees him in the south and another in the north. And innumerable people see him in other places—all at the same time. Each person really sees the Prophet before him because the light of the Prophet, in which his *dhāt* is represented, is with each person. If an illuminated person (*al-maftūḥ ᶜalayhi*) beholds the image (*ṣūra*) of the Prophet before him, he then follows it with his spiritual deeper sight (*baṣīra*) and penetrates through the light of the image to the *dhāt* of the Prophet himself.[39]

The final sentences of the above quotation lead us to our next pair of basic concepts in the *Ibrīz*: *fatḥ* and *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya*. It should be noted that the concept *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya* is not mentioned explicitly in the *Ibrīz*. In terms of content, however, one is justified in applying the term to al-Dabbāgh's ideas.

The goal of the mystic path is *fatḥ*, illumination. It can only be achieved under the direction of a shaykh,[40] since the path leads from the shaykh to the Prophet and from the Prophet to God.[41] As mentioned, al-Lamaṭī devotes two extensive chapters to the relationship between the shaykh and the novice, and pays particular attention to the phenomenon of *rābiṭa*. Incidentally, we now have Fritz Meier's book on the subject of *rābiṭa* as conceived amongst the Naqshbandiyya.[42] Much could be said about the role the Prophet plays in the novice-shaykh relationship through the whole process of *tarbiya*—this being a special aspect of the *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya*. But I cannot go into this subject here.

The *Ibrīz* says little about the preconditions for *fatḥ*: travelling the path, asceticism, disciplining the carnal soul,

39 *Ibrīz,* I, 280.

40 *Ibrīz,* I, 81; quoted in *Rimāḥ,* I, 163; on the whole see also Radtke, 'Von Iran nach Westafrika', *Die Welt des Islams,* xxxv, 1995, 50.

41 *Ibrīz,* II, 152, 287f.; on this see also Radtke, 'Ismāᶜīl al-Walī', 152 n. 39.

42 Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya*, Istanbul-Stuttgart 1994 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 58)

etc. These matters are taken for granted. As for illumination itself, which usually only takes place after the death of one's shaykh,[43] two kinds are distinguished: the normal *fatḥ*[44] and the ultimate, all-inclusive, *al-fatḥ al-kabīr*. The first step is that the novice descends into his inner self, into the region of darkness of his veins which are the locus of his lower character traits, in order to purify these traits.[45] If he succeeds in this, he can attain the first stage of illumination. The secrets of the material cosmos reveal themselves to him (*futiḥa*).[46] His sense organs become capable of perceiving the whole of the physical cosmos.[47] Since the cosmos, that is the different worlds of the earths and the stars, belong to the realm of darkness (*ẓalām*),[48] this is a *fatḥ ẓulmānī*,[49] an illumination which the unbelievers can also attain, an enlightenment which does not bring with it any certainty of knowledge.[50] It is only to the believing Muslim that the spiritual cosmos reveals itself. He beholds the angels, the prophets, the spirits of the Friends of God, as well as Paradise, Hell and the *barzakh*. This is the *al-fatḥ al-kabīr*,[51] the great illumination. But even at this stage there is the danger of falling into error. For example, spiritually consorting with Jesus which is made possible by *fatḥ* can seduce the illuminated individual to renounce Islam and become a Christian.[52]

Certainty and real illumination only occur if the mystic

43 *Ibrīz,* II, 83, 294.

44 *Ibrīz,* I, 109, where al-Dabbāgh writes about his own early limited (*ḍayyiq*) *fatḥ*.

45 *Ibrīz,* II, 54f.

46 *Ibrīz,* I, 398ff., II, 55, 275ff.

47 *Ibrīz,* II, 298; on this see also Radtke, 'Ismāʿīl al-Walī', 151 and Lehrer-Schüler-Enkel', 114.

48 *Ibrīz,* I, 399.

49 Chapter Nine (*Ibrīz,* II, 269-304) discusses the two forms of illumination, *fatḥ nūrānī* and *fatḥ ẓulmānī.*

50 *Ibrīz,* I, 399.

51 *Ibrīz,* I, 399; II, 275, 301, 304.

52 *Ibrīz,* I, 400.

passes through all the material and spiritual worlds and is honoured with the *ruʾyat al-nabī yaqẓa*[tan]*/mushāhadat al-dhāt al-sharīfa*.[53] After this experience he is omniscient[54] and permanently protected against error (*maᶜṣūm*).[55] His knowledge is far superior to that of all others, in particular to that of the theologians and the *fuqahāʾ*. Now he is actually the infallible source of interpreting the law.[56]

From the anthropological point of view, attaining *fatḥ* signifies that the partition between *dhāt* and *rūḥ* has been removed; the illuminated individual has reached a state like that of the Prophet.[57]

In order to experience a vision of the Prophet while awake, a person must be in a special mental state. Al-Dabbāgh describes that state in the following terms:

His mind is constantly occupied with this noble Prophet such that the Prophet never leaves his thoughts. Other matters he is busy with do not cause him to stop thinking of the Prophet. People see him eating, but his thoughts are with the Prophet; people see him drinking, but his thoughts are with the Prophet. Even when he is asleep his thoughts are with the Prophet.[58]

These remarks are similar to the classical definition of *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya* which Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Sanūsī quotes from the author Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī al-ᶜUjaymī who died 1702. The text runs:

The basis of this path [the *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya*] is that the inner being of the one who follows it[59] is absorbed in the vision of

53 *Ibrīz,* I, 400; II, 277.
54 *Ibrīz,* I, 110: al-Dabbāgh is omniscient.
55 *Ibrīz,* II, 301.
56 *Ibrīz,* II, 97 and Radtke, 'Ijtihād and Neo-Sufism', 920.
57 *Ibrīz,* I, 218.
58 *Ibrīz,* II, 285; also quoted in *Rimāḥ* I, 220.
59 … *mabnā hādhihī 'l-ṭarīqa ᶜalā istighrāq bāṭin ṣāḥibihā fī shuhūd dhātihī ṣlᶜm*. The phrase is given in this form by Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī in *al-Fuyūḍāt al-rabbāniyya*; Knut S. Vikør, *Sources for Sanūsī Studies*, Bergen 1996, 80-1, 227. This

Muḥammad's *dhāt*,[60] while he is zealously imitating the Prophet outwardly in word and deed, busying his tongue invoking blessings upon him, and devoting himself to him at all times whether in seclusion or in public, until honouring the Prophet comes to dominate his heart and to permeate his inner being to such an extent that he need only hear the Prophet's name and he starts trembling, his heart is overwhelmed beholding him and the visible appearances of the Prophet emerge before his inner sight.[61]

From this it is perfectly clear that the *ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya* is not a Sufi order but a path, a form of spiritual concentration.[62] It is the mystical intensification of the traditional conformity to the *sunna* of the Prophet which involves replacing the authority of the written word by a living experience—by beholding the Prophet and communicating with him directly.

Beholding the Prophet is the greatest pleasure (*ladhdha*) that a human being can experience.[63] It is even greater than the joys of Paradise,[64] for it leads the mystic to the final goal, the vision of God—*mushāhada*.[65]

I must limit myself to this brief sketch of some of the basic concepts found in the *Ibrīz*. I have already noted the widespread reception of al-Dabbāgh/al-Lamaṭī by later authors. As for the sources al-Dabbāgh relied on and possible direct borrowings, I must confess that these still remain unclear to me. Certain features of the *Ibrīz* recall Ibn ᶜArabī's

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is by far the best way to read this text which has caused so much confusion, see Radtke, 'Between Projection and Suppression', 74 n. 9. My attempts at correction have, however necessary, proven to be far too complicated.

60 See note 32 above and Radtke, 'Between Projection and Suppression', *loc. cit*.

61 Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Sanūsī, *al-Manhal al-rawī* in *al-Majmūᶜa al-mukhtāra*, Beirut 1968, 49 bottom & ff.

62 See note 59 above.

63 *Ibrīz,* II, 286.

64 *Ibrīz,* II, 286, 291.

65 *Ibrīz,* II, 287.

thought but the whole of Ibn ᶜArabī's metaphysics, the problem associated with *waḥdat al-wujūd* and the concept of *ḥaqīqa Muḥammadiyya* are totally absent. We still know relatively little about the intellectual history of Sufism in the centuries after Ibn ᶜArabī—at least as far as mysticism in the Arabic language is concerned. In this area almost everything still remains to be done.

In conclusion I will simply make some further observations about the historical influence of the *Ibrīz*. The so-called bible of the Tijāniyya, ᶜAlī Barrāda's *Jawāhir al-maᶜānī*, only contains five quotations from the *Ibrīz*[66]—which is quite the contrary to the second bible of the Tijāniyya, the *Rimāḥ* of *al-ḥājj* ᶜUmar.[67] A fundamental idea in the Tijāniyya is *fayḍ*,[68] which does not appear as such in the *Ibrīz*. For a similar notion the *Ibrīz* employs the verb *saqā* or *suqiya*.[69] However, the world of ideas and the vocabulary of the *Ibrīz* exercised an important influence in the writings of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, which is only to be expected as the latter traces one of his affiliations back to al-Dabbāgh.[70] Consequently the *Ibrīz* may justifiably be considered a key work for the later development of Sufism and clearly deserves to be studied more closely. In this connection, I may add that John O'Kane and I intend to undertake an English translation and commentary of the *Ibrīz*.

Analysis of sources

The book has twelve chapters of very different length, after a *muqaddima* (*Ibrīz*, I, 39-120) with the *vita* of al-Dabbāgh.

66 ᶜAlī Ḥarāzim Barrāda, *Jawāhir al-maᶜānī*, Beirut 1393/1973, I, 55, 174 (twice), 214; II, 62.

67 Radtke, 'Studies on the Sources of the *Kitāb Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm* of *al-ḥājj* ᶜUmar', *Sudanic Africa,* 6, 1995, 73-113, 85f.

68 On this see Radtke, 'Was steht in den *Ǧawāhir al-maᶜānī*? Versuch einer Ehrenrettung' (forthc).

69 Among the many references, one may note only *Ibrīz,* II, 54.

70 See note 13 above.

The chapters discuss:

1. (I, 125-318): Interpretations of *ḥadīth*s.
2. (I, 325-434): Interpretations of Koranic verses.
3. (I, 441-89): On darkness (*ẓalām*).
4. (II, 5-45): On the *dīwān al-ṣāliḥīn*.
5. (II, 47-113): On being a *shaykh* (*tashāyukh*).
6. (II, 115-82): On being a novice.
7. (II, 183-254): The interpretation of some difficult sentences in earlier authorities' works.[71]
8. (II, 255-67): On the creation of Adam.
9. (II, 269-304): On the two kinds of Illumination.[72]
10. (II, 305-20): On the *barzakh*.
11. (II, 321-45): On Paradise
12. (II, 347-58): On Hell

The most voluminous are the two chapters with al-Dabbāgh's interpretations of the Koran and *ḥadīth* in the first volume. Then follow in size the chapter on the *dīwān al-ṣāliḥīn*, the gathering of the spiritual regiment of the world in cave of Mount Ḥirāᵓ near Mecca—a conception widespread in post-Ibn ᶜArabī mysticism[73]—then the chapter about *shaykh* and novice, and after those the seventh and ninth chapters.

One can distinguish three types of texts: (1) Hagiographical anecdotes,[74] (2) didactic-theoretical views of al-Dabbāgh, and (3) comments by al-Lamatī which, unlike al-Dabbāgh's texts, are supported by quotations from theological-scholastic tradition. Following is a list of the sources used

71 E.g. Ibn Mashīsh, al-Shādhilī, Ibn al-Farīd, al-Ghazālī, and in particular the latter's sentence *laysa fī 'l-imkān abdaᶜu mimmā kān*. This part comes almost completely from al-Lamaṭī, who takes up an old scholastic discussion, see sources CXIX-CXXIX.

72 *Fatḥ nūrānī* and *fatḥ ẓulmānī*.

73 Michel Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des saints*, Paris 1986, 113; also Radtke, 'Lehrer-Schüler-Enkel', 116f.

74 A list of the stories are in *Ibrīz,* II, 418-20.

by al-Lamaṭī. They are ordered by first appearance.[75]

I

Sharḥ Jam^c^ al-jawāmi^c^ li'l-Subkī by Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī, 745-94/1344-92
GAL, II, 91; *S* II, 108; for *Jam^c^ al-jawāmi^c^* cf. *GAL,* II, 89.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 69; 112.

II

al-Risāla al-niẓāmiyya by al-Juwaynī, d. 478/1085
GAL, S I, 673.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 72.

III

Fatḥ al-bārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī by Ibn Ḥajar al-^c^Asqalānī, 773-852/1372-1449.
GAL, S II, 75, no. 71.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 72; 112; 113; 129; 156; 223; 224; 231; 242; 244; 245; 246; 250; 286; 291; 316; 333; 339; 347; 376; 393; II, 351.

IV

al-Durar al-muntathira fī 'l-aḥādīth al-mushtahira by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 180, no. 59.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 111; 112; 113 (twice); II, 340.

V

al-Mawḍū^c^āt by Ibn al-Jawzī, d. 597/1200
GAL, I, 503, no. 26.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 112; 113 (twice); 345.

75 The following abbreviations are used: S: = Subject, Q: = Quotations, with page reference to *Ibrīz*, vols I and II.

VI

Title not given, by Ibn Taymiyya, d. 728/1328; on him see *GAL,* II, 100ff.
S: Theology.
Q: I, 112.

VII

al-Laʾālī al-maṣnūʿa fī ʾl-aḥādīth al-mawḍūʿa by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 181, no. 26.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 112; 113.

VIII

al-Ḥāwī fi ʾl-fatāwī by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 188, 169c.
S: *Ḥadīth*, *Fiqh*, theology.
Q: I, 112; 318.

IX

Title not given, probably *al-Mustadrak*, by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, d. 405/1014
GAL, I*,* 166.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 113; 227; 252; 263; 350; 352.

X

al-Tafsīr by Ibn Kathīr, d. 774/1373
GAL, S II, 49.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 113.

XI

al-Nashr fi ʾl-qirāʾāt al-ʿashr by Ibn al-Jazarī, 751-833/1350-1429
GAL, I*,* 201.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 113; 129; 174; 176; 224; 231.

XII

al-Intiṣār by al-Bāqillānī, d. 403/1013
GAL, S I*,* 349, no. 5 (?= *al-Istibṣār*).

S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 120; 129; 138; 180; 191; 193; 231.

XIII

Title not given, by Abū ᶜUbayd, d. 224/839
GAS, IX, 70.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 129; 226.

XIV

Title not given; a monograph on the *ḥadīth*: '*inna hādhā 'l-qurᵓān unzila ᶜalā sabᶜat aḥruf wa-kull li-shaᵓn*', by Abū Shāma, 599-665/1203-68
GAL, S I, 550f.; title not listed.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 129.

XIVa

al-Itqān by al-Suyūṭī
GAL, S II, 179, no. 1.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 129.

XV

al-Burda by al-Būṣīrī, 608—694-96/1211-2—1294-97
GAL, S I, 467.
S: Poetry, praise of the Prophet.
Q: I, 150; II, 58.

XVI

al-Tamhīd by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Barr, 368-463/978-1071
GAL, I, 367; *S* I, 628.
S: History; genealogy.
Q: I, 156; 232.

XVII

Ḥāshiya ᶜalā 'l-Muwaṭṭaᵓ by al-Suyūṭī
GAL, S II, 181, no. 22a.
S: *Ḥadīth, fiqh.*
Q: I, 156.

XVIII

Title not given, by Ibn al-Ḥājib, d. 646/1249
GAL, I, 303, *S* I, 531
S: Grammar.
Q: I, 176; 309.

XIX

Title not given, by al-Farrāʾ, d. 200/822
GAS, IX, 131.
S: Grammar.
Q: I, 180.

XX

al-Muqniᶜ by Abū ᶜAmr al-Dānī, d. 444/1053
GAL, I, 407; *S* I, 719.
S: Koran recitation.
Q: I, 191; 193.

XXI

al-ᶜAqīla by Abū ’l-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī, 538-90/1143-94
GAL, I, 410; *S* I, 726.
S: Koran recitation.
Q: I, 192.

XXII

Sharḥ al-ᶜAqīla by al-Jaᶜbarī, 640-732/1242-1333
GAL, S I, 135, no. 14.
S: Koran recitation.
Q: I, 192; 193.

XXIII

Title not given, by Abū ’l-Ḥasan al-Qābisī, 324-57/936-1012
GAL, S I, 277.
S: *Fiqh*, *ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 192.

XXIV

Title not given, by Ibn Fūrak, d. 406/1015
GAL, S I, 166.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 193.

XXV

al-Tafsīr by Abū Isḥāq al-Thaᶜlabī, d. 427/1035
GAL, S I, 592.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 221; 326.

XXVI

al-Muqaddima by Ibn Khaldūn, d. 808/1406
GAL, II, 244; *S* II, 342.
S: World history.
Q: I, 221.

XXVII

al-Tafsīr by al-Ṭabarī, d. 310/923
GAS, I, 327; *GAL,* I, 142; *S* I, 217.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 225; 231; 242.

XXVIII

al-Musnad by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, d. 241/855
GAS, I, 504; *GAL,* I, 182.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 226 (twice); 231.

XXIX

Title not given, by al-Ṭabarānī, d. 360/971
GAS, I, 195; *GAL, S* II, 279.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 226.

XXX

Title not given, by Ibn Ḥibbān, d. 354/965
GAS, I, 189; *GAL, S* I, 273.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 227.

XXXI

Title not given, most probably *al-Jāmiᶜ,* by Abū ᶜĪsā al-Tirmidhī, d. 279/892
GAS, I, 156; *GAL, S* I, 267f.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 227.

XXXII

Mushkil al-Qurʾān by Ibn Qutayba, d. 276/884
GAL, I, 120.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 231.

XXXIII

al-Dalāʾil by Qāsim b. Thābit
GAL, S N II, 945 (?).
S: Koran recitation.
Q: I, 231.

XXXIV

Title not given, by Abū ’l-Faḍl al-Rāzī, i.e., Abū ’l-Faḍāʾil al-Rāzī, d. *c.* 631/1233
GAL, I, 414; *S* I, 735.
S: Koran recitation.
Q: I, 231.

XXXV

al-Sharḥ, i.e., the Koran commentary, by al-Qurṭubī, d. 671/1273
GAL, I, 415; *S* I, 737.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 232.

XXXVI

al-Sharḥ, probably meant *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, by al-Nawawī, d. 676/1278
GAS, I, 137; *GAL,* I, 395.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 232; 306.

XXXVII

al-Sharḥ, probably meant *Jamᶜ al-nihāya*, commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, by Ibn Abī Jamra, d. 699/1300
GAS, I, 126; *GAL,* I, 372.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 232; 242; 243; 244.

XXXVIII

al-Ṣaḥīḥ by Muslim, d. 261/875
GAS, I, 136; *GAL,* I, 160.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 232; 284; 306.

XXXIX

Title not given, by al-Ḥalīmī, d. 403/1012
GAS, I, 607; *GAL,* I, 197.
S: *Ḥadīth*; *fiqh*; theology.
Q: I, 235.

XL

Title not given, by ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, d. 727/1327
GAL, II, 86.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 235.

XLI

Title not given, by al-Ghazālī, d. 555/1111
GAL, I, 420ff.
S: Theology.
Q: I, 239.

XLII

Title not given, by al-Māzarī, d. 536/1141
GAL, S I, 663.
S: Theology.
Q: I, 240; 243; 262.

XLIII

Title not given, by Ibn Baṭṭāl, = ᶜAlī b. Khalaf al-Qurṭubī, d. 449/1057; he wrote a *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*
GAL, S I, 261.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 240; 242; 244.

XLIV

Title not given, by Abū Bakr b. al-ᶜArabī, d. 543/1148; see *Ibrīz*, editor's footnote 23.
GAL, S I, 663.
S: *Fiqh*; *ḥadīth*.

Q: I, 240; 244; 445(?).

XLV

Title not given, by Abū Saᶜīd al-Safāqusī
S: Theology.
Q: I, 240.

XLVI

al-Jāmiᶜ al-Ṣaḥīḥ by al-Bukhārī, d. 256/870
GAS, I, 116; *GAL,* I, 159.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 249; 250; 252; 284.

XLVII

Title not given, probably *al-Muwaṭṭaᵓ*, by Mālik b. Anas, d. 179/795
GAS, I, 458; *GAL,* I, 176.
S: *Fiqh*, *ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 250.

XLVIII

Title not given, probably *al-Sunan*, by al-Nasāᵓī, d. 302/915
GAS, I, 167; *GAL,* I, 162f.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 251.

XLIX

al-Sunan by Abū Dāwūd, d. 275/889
GAS, I, 149; *GAL,* I, 161.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 252.

L

al-Qabas by Ibn al-ᶜArabī, d. 543/1148
GAL: title not listed.
S: Theology (?).
Q: I, 262.

LI

Title not given, by al-ᶜUqaylī, d. 322/934
GAS, I, 177.
S: *Ḥadīth*.

Q: I, 263; 345.

LII

al-Talkhīṣ by al-Dhahabī, d. 748/1348
GAL, II, 46ff.; title not listed.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 263.

LIII

Nawādir al-uṣūl by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, d. *c.* 295-300/905-10
GAS, I, 655.
S: Mysticism.
Q: I, 263.

LIV

al-Aḥkām al-kubrā by Abū Muḥammad [c]Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī, d. 581/1185
GAL, I, 371; *S* I, 634.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 286.

LV

Sharḥ al-Jāmi[c] al-ṣaghīr by [c]Abd al-Ra[ɔ]ūf al-Munāwī, d. 1031/1621
GAL, II, 306; *S* II, 417.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 286; 337.

LVI

Risāla ilā Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī by Ibn [c]Arabī, Muḥyī al-Dīn, d. 638/1240
GAL, I, 441ff.
S: Mysticism.
Q: I, 289; 291.

LVII

Kashf al-rān by [c]Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha[c]rānī, d. 973/1565
GAL, II, 335ff.
S: *Ḥadīth*; theology.
Q: I, 291.

LVIII

al-Tafriqa by al-Ghazālī, d. 555/1111
GAL, I, 421; no. 13; *S* I, 747.
S: Theology.
Q: I, 293; 309 (?).

LIX

al-Durr al-manthūr by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 179, no. 2.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 299; 325; 386.

LX

al-Shifāʾ by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, d. 544/1149
GAL, I, 369; *S* I, 630.
S: *Ḥadīth*; *fiqh*.
Q: I, 306; 382.

LXI

Title not given, probably *Alfiyyat al-siyar* by al-ʿIrāqī = Abū ʾl-Faḍl Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī, d. 806/1404
GAL, II, 65f.; *S* II, 69.
S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: I, 306.

LXII

Title not given, by Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī, 551-631/1156-1233
GAL, I, 393; *S* I, 678.
S: *Ḥadīth*; theology.
Q: I, 309.

LXIII

Title not given, by Ṣafī ʾl-Dīn al-Hindī, 644-715/1269-1315
GAL, II, 115; *S* II, 143.
S: Theology; *fiqh*.
Q: I, 309.

LXIV

Title not given, by al-Ghazālī, d. 555/1111, perhaps = LVIII
S: Theology.
Q: I, 309.

LXV

Title not given, by al-Bayhaqī, 384-458/994-1066
GAL, I; 363; *S* I, 618.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 311.

LXVI

Title not given, by Ibn al-Sakan, d. 353/964
GAS, I, 189.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 311.

LXVII

Zawāʾid al-Musnad by Ibn Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 213-90/828-903
GAL, S I, 310, cf. *GAS,* I, 511.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 315.

LXVIII

Title not given, probably *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* by Abū Nuᶜaym al-Iṣbahānī, d. 430/1038
GAL, I, 362; *S* I, 616.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 315.

LXIX

Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa by al-Bayhaqī, 384-458/994-1066
GAL, I; 363; *S* I, 618.
S: *Ḥadīth*; theology.
Q: I, 315.

LXX

al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba by Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, 773-852/1372-1449
GAL, S II, 75. no. 1.
S: Biography; *ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 317.

LXXI

Sharḥ al-Alfiyya fī ’ṣṭilāḥ al-ḥadīth by al-Sakhāwī, 830-902/1427-97
GAL, S II, 31, no. 26; see also LXI.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 318.

LXXII

Sharḥ al-Shifā (probably = LX), by al-Shihāb; probably Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī, d. 844/1440
GAL, I, 369, no. 1k.
S: *Ḥadīth*; theology; *fiqh.*

LXXIII

Sharḥ al-Mawāqif by al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413
GAL, II, 216; *S* II, 305 (for the author); II, 208, no. IV, 1 (for this book).
S: Theology, *kalām.*
Q: I, 325; 382; 387; 417.

LXXIV

Sharḥ al-ṣudūr bi-aḥwāl al-mawtā wa’l-qubūr by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 181, no. 30.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 347.

LXXV

Title not given, most probably *al-Muᶜarrab*, by al-Jawālīqī, d. 539/1144
GAL, I, 280.
S: Lexicography.
Q: I, 351; 352.

LXXVI

Ḥāshiya ᶜalā Ḥizb al-barr by Abū Zayd al-Fāsī, d. 1036/1626
GAL, S I, 805, no. 6a.
S: Mysticism.
Q: I, 357.

LXXVII

al-Ḥabāʾīk by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 183, no. 51.
S: *Ḥadīth*, theology.
Q: I, 382.

LXXVIII

al-Hiba al-saniyya by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 185, no. 66.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 386.

LXXIX

Ḥāshiya alā 'l-Bayḍāwī by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
Not listed in *GAL*, on Bayḍāwī see *GAL,* I, 416ff.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 386; 387; 422.

LXXX

Ḥāshiya; probably on al-Bayḍāwī, by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520
GAL, II, 99, no. 6.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 387; 421.

LXXXI

Kashf al-ṣalṣala ᶜan waṣf al-zalzala by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 183, no. 42.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: I, 388.

LXXXII

al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya by Ibn ᶜArabī, Muḥyī al-Dīn, d. 638/1240
GAL, I, 442, no. 10.
S: Mysticism.
Q: I, 398.

LXXXIII

Title not given, by al-Bayḍāwī, most probably his commentary on the Koran.
GAL, I, 416ff.
S: Koran commentary.
Q: I, 404; 421.

LXXXIV

Ḥizb al-barr by Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, d. 656/1258
GAL, I, 449; *S* I, 805, no. 5.
S: Mysticism.
Q: I, 407; II, 201.

LXXXV

al-Burhān by al-Juwaynī, d. 478/1085
GAL, S I, 673, no. XV.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 409.

LXXXVI

al-Mustaṣfā by al-Ghazālī, d. 555/1111
GAL, I, 424; *S* I, 754, no. 51.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 409.

LXXXVII

al-Fuṣūl by Abū 'l-Walīd al-Bājī, 403-74/1012-81
GAL, I, 419; *S* I, 743f.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 409.

LXXXVIIa

Title not given, by al-Abyārī
(= LXXXVIII?).
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 409.

LXXXVIII

Sharḥ al-Burhān by ᶜAlī b. Ismāᶜīl (= al-Abyārī, cf. LXXXVIIa)
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 409.

LXXXIX

Sharḥ al-Mustaṣfā by Ibn al-Ḥājj al-ᶜAbdarī, d. 737/1336
GAL, II, 83; *S* II, 95; title not listed.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 409.

XC

Jamᶜ al-jawāmiᶜ by al-Subkī, 727-71/1327-70
GAL, II, 89; *S* II, 102.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 409.

XCI

Dafᶜ al-taᶜassuf by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 180, no. 20.
S: *Ḥadīth*; theology.
Q: I, 417.

XCII

al-Budūr al-sāfira by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 182, no. 31.
S: *Ḥadīth*; theology.
Q: I, 427; 443; II, 331; 343; 351.

XCIII

A *Juzʾ* on the *maghfira* of the Prophet, by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
S: *Fiqh*; theology.
Q: I, 430.

XCIV

Title not given, deals with the same question as XCIII, by Abū Yaḥyā al-Tilimsānī
S: *Fiqh*; theology.
Q: I, 430.

XCV

Title not given, gives a summary of XCIII and XCIV, by Abū ʾl-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad Bābā al-Sūdānī, d. 1036/1627
GAL, II, 466; *S* II, 715f.; title not listed. It may be his *Sharḥ al-ṣadr wa-tanwīr al-qalb bi-bayān maghfira mā nusiba li'l-jānib al-nabawī min al-dhanb*; see Mahmoud Zouber, *Aḥmad Bābā de Tombouctou*

(1556-1627): sa vie et son œuvre, Paris, 1977, 120-1.
S: *Fiqh*; theology.
Q: I, 430.

XCVI

Minhāj al-ᶜābidīn by al-Ghazālī, d. 555/1111
GAL, I, 423, no. 38; *S* I, 751.
S: Mysticism.
Q: I, 445.

XCVII

Sirāj al-murīdīn by Abū Bakr b. al-ᶜArabī, d. 543/1148
GAL, S I, 663; title not listed; see also source XLIV.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 445.

XCVIII

al-Qawāᶜid wa'l-furūq by al-Qarāfī, d. 684/1285
GAL, I, 385; *S* I, 665.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: I, 445.

XCIX

Dalāʾil al-khayrāt by al-Jazūlī, d. 870/1465
GAL, II, 252; *S* II, 359.
S: Mysticism.
Q: I, 448; II, 186.

C

Title not given, by Zarrūq, 846-99/1442-93
GAL, II, 253; *S* II, 360.
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 51.

CI

al-Anwār al-qudsiyya fī bayān ādāb al-ᶜubūdiyya by al-Shaᶜrānī, d. 973/1565
GAL, II, 337, no. 13; *S* II, 465.
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 67.

CII

A *Kitāb* by Muḥyī ’l-Dīn; a student of Tāj al-Dīn al-Dhākir al-Miṣrī, d. *c*. 920/1514; on the latter, see *Ibrīz*, editor’s footnote 38
S: Mysticism (?).
Q: II, 84.

CIII

al-Mudawwana by Saḥnūn, who, however, is not mentioned, 160-240/776-854
GAS, I, 469; *GAL, S* I, 299.
S: *Fiqh*; *Ḥadīth*.
Q: II, 101.

CIV

al-Tabṣira by al-Lakhmī, d. 498/1104 or 478/1085
GAL, I, 383; *S* I, 661.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: II, 101.

CV

al-Bayān by Ibn Rushd, 450-520/1058-1126
GAL, I, 384; *S* I, 662.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: II, 101.

CVI

al-Jawāhir by Ibn Shāsh, d. 610/1213
GAL, I, 384; *S* I, 664.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: II, 101.

CVII

al-Rāʾiyya by al-Sharīshī, 581-641/1185-1243
GAL, S I, 802.
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 119.

Comment

The sixth chapter of the book contains a comment on the *Rāʾiyya* of al-Sharīshī, a didactic poem on being a novice written in the *ṭawīl* metre. The author, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharīshī (b. 581/1185 in

Salé, d. 641/1243 in al-Fayyūm), studied in Baghdad with Abū Ḥafṣ ᶜUmar al-Suhrawardī, the author of the famous Sufi textbook *ᶜAwārif al-maᶜārif* and the founder of the Suhrawardiyya order. Al-Sharīshī's *Rāʾiyya* is an abridgement of the teachings of the *ᶜAwārif* on the relations between shaykh and student. This poem was, as al-Lamaṭī notes,[76] highly valued in the West. There is, for example, a long commentary on it by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī[77] from the beginning of the seventeenth century, this was printed together with the *Rāʾiyya* in Cairo in 1316/1898. This shows the direct influence of the Suhrawardiyya, or at least its teachings, in the far west before the influence of later authors was felt. Until now only the Suhrawardiyya's expansion towards the east, into Persia and India, has been known in detail.

CVIII

ᶜAwārif al-maᶜārif by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī, d. 632/1234
GAL, I, 440; *S* I, 788.
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 129; 136; 138; 141; 144; 146; 152; 153; 155; 156; 157; 158; 160.

CIX

Title not given, by Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī, d. 668/1269; it is a prose work
GAL, I, 274; *S* I, 483.
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 130.

CX

Title not given, by Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī, d. 638/1240; the subject is *tarbiya* of the novices.
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 130; 147 (?).

CXI

Ithmid al-ᶜaynayn by Muḥammad al-Hazmīrī who lived during the 8th/14th century
GAL, S II, 339.
S: History, biography.

76 *Ibrīz,* II, 161-3.
77 *GAL, S* II, 701f.

Q: II, 162.

CXII

al-Ṣalāt by Ibn Mashīsh, d. 665/1228
GAL, I, 440; *S* I, 787.
S: Mysticism; praise of the Prophet.
Q: II, 185.

CXIII

Title not given, a commentary on the *Ḥizb al-barr* of al-Shādhilī, by Ibn ᶜAbbād al-Rundī, 733-92/1333-90
GAL, S I, 358, title not mentioned.
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 201.

CXIV

Title not given, by al-Burzulī, d. 841/1438
GAL, II, 247; *S* II, 347.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 202.

CXV

Dīwān by Ibn al-Fāriḍ, 577-632/1182-1235
GAL, I, 262; *S* I, 462.
S: Poetry.
Q: II, 203.

CXVI

Title not given, by Ibn ᶜArabī, d. 638/1240
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 207.

CXVII

Iḥyāʾ ᶜulūm al-dīn, *Kitāb al-Tafakkur*, by al-Ghazālī, d. 555/1111
GAL, I, 422, no. 25.
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 208.

CXVIII

al-Bāhir fī ḥukm al-nabī by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 187, no. 124.

S: *Ḥadīth*.
Q: II, 215.

CXIX

Īḍāḥ al-bayān by al-Samhūdī, d. 911/1506
GAL, II, 174, no. 7.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 222; 234.

CXX

Dalālat al-burhān by Burhān al-Dīn al-Biqāʿī, d. 885/1480
GAL, II, 141f.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 222.

CXXI

al-Ḍiyāʾ al-mutalālī by Abū ’l-ʿAbbās Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Munayyir al-Iskandarānī, d. 683/1284
GAL, S I, 738, no. 4.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 223.

CXXII

Sharḥ al-Muyāsara by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī ’l-Sharīf, d. 906/1500
GAL, II, 82; *S* II, 92, no. 3b.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 223; 230.

CXXIII

al-Ajwiba al-marḍiyya ʿan sādātinā al-fuqahāʾ wa’l-ṣūfiyya by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, d. 973/1565
GAL, S II, 466, no. 28.
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 225.

CXXIV

Sharḥ Qawāʿid al-ʿaqāʾid by Zarrūq, 846-99/1442-93
GAL, II, 254, no. 24 = *Sharḥ ʿAqīdat al-Ghazālī*.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 229.

CXXV

Title not given, by Abū ’l-Mawāhib al-Tūnisī who was still alive 806/1406
GAL, S II, 359; 1006.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 231.

CXXVI

Title not given, by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520
GAL, II, 99.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 231.

CXXVII

Tashyīd al-arkān by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505
GAL, S II, 195, no. 265.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 233.

CXXVIII

*Sharḥ al-Luma*ᶜ by Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Tilimsānī, d. 658/1260
GAL, I*,* 389; *S* I, 672, no. VI.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 234.

CXXIX

al-ᶜAwāṣim min al-qawāṣim, by Ibn al-ᶜArabī al-Mālikī, d. 543/1148; see *Ibrīz* I, 240, editor’s footnote 23
GAL, S I*,* 663, title not mentioned.
S: *Fiqh*.
Q: II, 247.

CXXX

*al-Taḥbīr fī sharḥ al-asmā*ᵓ *al-ḥusnā* by al-Qushayrī, d. 465/1072
GAL, I*,* 432; *S* I, 772.
S: Mysticism.
Q: II, 265.

CXXXI

Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ by Abū Nuᶜaym al-Iṣbahānī, d. 430/1038
GAL, I, 362; *S* I, 616.
S: Biography; mysticism.
Q: II, 278; 325.

CXXXII

al-Shamāʾil by Abū ᶜĪsā al-Tirmidhī, d. 279/892
GAS, I, 156; *GAL,* I, 162, no. II.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: II, 286.

CXXXIII

Title not given, by Ibn ᶜAsākir, 499-571/1106-76
GAL, I, 331.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: II, 324.

CXXXIV

Sharḥ Manẓūmat al-qubūr, see no. LXXIV, by Aḥmad b. Khalīl al-Subkī, d. 1032/1623
GAL, S II, 181, no. 30; this commmentary is not mentioned there; but see *Ibrīz*, editor's footnote *.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 330.

CXXXV

Title not given, by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī, d. 892/1486
GAL, II, 250; *S* II, 352.
S: Theology.
Q: II, 339.

CXXXVI

Title not given, by Ibn al-Daibaᶜ, 866-944/1461-1537, probably *Tamyīz al-ṭayyib min al-khabīth*
GAL, II, 400, no. 4.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: II, 340.

CXXXVII

al-Ghammāz ᶜalā ’l-Lammāz by al-Samhūdī, (should read al-Samanhūdī), d. after 950/1543
GAL, II, 305; *S* II, 416.
S: *Ḥadīth.*
Q: II: 340.

Summary

Two tables follow below. One indicates the how often each source—listed by number—is quoted and, where possible, its main subject matter. The second table lists the subject matters and shows how often each is discussed and the number of books mentioned in connection with it. This must carry with it an element of uncertainty, as often only the author, not the title of the work cited, is given. It is also often not clear whether the citation is al-Lamaṭī’s own or is itself part of a quote. This can only be clarified by looking up the relevant source in each case to check the text of the quotation, a very time-consuming effort that was impossible for this survey.[78]

Table I

Source	*Quotations*	*Subject*
I	2	*Fiqh*
II	1	*Fiqh*
III	23	*Ḥadīth*
IV	5	*Ḥadīth*
V	4	*Ḥadīth*
VI	1	Theology
VII	2	*Ḥadīth*
VIII	2	*Ḥadīth*; *fiqh*; theology
IX	6	*Ḥadīth*

78 Cfr. my remarks in ‘Studies on the Sources of the *Kitāb Rimāḥ*’, 84f.

X	1	Koran commentary
XI	6	Koran recitation
XII	7	Koran recitation
XIII	2	*Ḥadith*
XIV	1	Koran commentary
XIVa	1	Koran commentary
XV	2	Poetry; praise of the Prophet
XVI	2	History; genealogy
XVII	1	*Ḥadīth*; *fiqh*
XVIII	2	Grammar (?)
XIX	1	Grammar
XX	2	Koran recitation
XXI	1	Koran recitation
XXII	2	Koran recitation
XXIII	1	*Fiqh*; *ḥadīth*
XXIV	1	*Ḥadīth*
XXV	2	Koran commentary
XXVI	1	History
XXVII	3	Koran commentary
XXVIII	3	*Ḥadīth*
XXIX	1	*Ḥadīth*
XXX	1	*Ḥadīth*
XXXI	1	*Ḥadīth*
XXXII	1	Koran commentary
XXXIII	1	Koran recitation
XXXIV	1	Koran recitation
XXXV	1	Koran commentary
XXXVI	2	*Ḥadīth*
XXXVII	4	*Ḥadīth*
XXXVIII	3	*Ḥadīth*
XXXIX	1	*Ḥadith; fiqh*
XL	1	*Fiqh*
XLI	1	Theology
XLII	3	Theology
XLIII	3	*Ḥadīth*
XLIV	3	*Fiqh*; *ḥadith*
XLV	1	Theology

XLVI	4	*Ḥadīth*
XLVII	1	*Fiqh*; *ḥadīth*
XLVIII	1	*Ḥadīth*
XLIX	1	*Ḥadīth*
L	1	Theology (?)
LI	2	*Ḥadīth*
LII	1	*Ḥadīth*
LIII	1	Mysticism
LIV	1	*Fiqh*
LV	2	*Ḥadīth*
LVI	2	Mysticism
LVII	1	*Ḥadīth*; theology
LVIII	2	Theology
LIX	3	Koran commentary
LX	2	*Ḥadīth*; *fiqh*
LXI	1	*Ḥadīth*
LXII	1	*Ḥadīth*; theology
LXIII	1	Theology; *fiqh*
LXIV	1	Theology
LXV	1	*Ḥadīth*
LXVI	1	*Ḥadīth*
LXVII	1	*Ḥadīth*
LXVIII	1	*Ḥadīth*
LXIX	1	*Ḥadīth*; theology
LXX	1	Biography; *ḥadīth*
LXXI	1	*Ḥadīth*
LXXII	1	*Ḥadīth*; theology; *fiqh*
LXXIII	4	Theology; *kalām*
LXXIV	1	*Ḥadīth*
LXXV	2	Lexicography
LXXVI	1	Mysticism
LXXVII	1	*Ḥadīth*; theology
LXXVIII	1	*Ḥadīth*
LXXIX	3	Koran commentary
LXXX	2	Koran commentary
LXXXI	1	*Ḥadīth*
LXXXII	1	Mysticism

LXXXIII	2	Koran commentary
LXXXIV	2	Mysticism
LXXXV	1	*Fiqh*
LXXXVI	1	*Fiqh*
LXXXVII	1	*Fiqh*
LXXXVIIa	1	*Fiqh*
LXXXVIII	1	*Fiqh*
LXXXIX	1	*Fiqh*
XC	1	*Fiqh*
XCI	1	*Ḥadīth*; theology
XCII	5	*Ḥadīth*; theology
XCIII	1	*Fiqh*; theology
XCIV	1	*Fiqh*; theology
XCV	1	*Fiqh*; theology
XCVI	1	Mysticism
XCVII	1	*Fiqh*
XCVIII	1	*Fiqh*
XCIX	2	Mysticism
C	1	Mysticism
CI	1	Mysticism
CII	1	Mysticism
CIII	1	*Fiqh*; *ḥadīth*
CIV	1	*Fiqh*
CV	1	*Fiqh*
CVI	1	*Fiqh*
CVII	1	Mysticism
CVIII	13	Mysticism
CIX	1	Mysticism
CX	2	Mysticism
CXI	1	History; biography
CXII	1	Poetry; mysticism, praise of the Prophet
CXIII	1	Mysticism
CXIV	1	Theology
CXV	1	Poetry
CXVI	1	Mysticism
CXVII	1	Mysticism

CXVIII	1	*Ḥadīth*
CXIX	2	Theology
CXX	1	Theology
CXXI	1	Theology
CXXII	2	Theology
CXXIII	1	Mysticism
CXXIV	1	Theology
CXXV	1	Theology
CXXVI	1	Theology
CXXVII	1	Theology
CXXVIII	1	Theology
CXXIX	1	*Fiqh*
CXXX	1	Mysticism
CXXXI	2	Biography; mysticism
CXXXII	1	*Ḥadīth*
CXXXIII	1	*Ḥadīth*
CXXXIV	1	Theology
CXXXV	1	Theology
CXXXVI	1	*Ḥadīth*
CXXXVII	1	*Ḥadīth*

Table II

Subject	*Quotations*	*Books*
Ḥadīth	100	48
Fiqh	39	24
Theology	42	23
Koran recitation	18	5
Koran commentary	22	11
Mysticism	37	19
Poetry	4	3
Praise of the Prophet	2	1
History	4	3
Grammar	2	2
Lexicography	1	1
Total	271	139

Thus, the book contains about 270 quotations. That is far less than for example the *Rimāḥ* of *al-ḥājj* ᶜUmar. There one can find 640 to 650 quotations from other sources. In the *Ibrīz*, most sources are mentioned only once or twice, with only a few exceptions. That is also different from *al-ḥājj* ᶜUmar's book, there two-thirds of the quotations are from twenty-seven works (out of the total of 125) by only nine authors. Mysticism is fully covered by al-Dabbāgh's his own words, it is presented as a knowledge that does not require external references.[79] *Al-ḥājj* ᶜUmar, on the other hand, takes over half of his quotations from mystical literature. It is interesting that the theological-scholastic literature that was available to al-Lamaṭī was by and large not the same as that used by *al-ḥājj* ᶜUmar. One reason for this was that ᶜUmar went to the east and could build a library in Cairo and Mecca while al-Lamaṭī hardly left Morocco. Thus, he could only utilize the literature that was available in Fez in the first half of the eighteenth century and which was used in the city's theological circles. The present analysis also adds to our knowledge of the extent of this literature.[80]

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79 On this see also Radtke, 'Zwischen Traditionalismus und Intellektualismus', 242.

80 On this see also Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfas* and Knut S. Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Sanūsī and his Brotherhood*, London 1995, 32-81.

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